/186 cont./

346 There are four other small rooms, five meters /187/ long
796 by three meters wide. Two of them are independent of each other, with their respective doors opening into the sala; one serves as a kitchen and the other to roast the maize griddle-cakes. At the other end of the house are the two other rooms, connected with each other by one door and with the sala by another. The workers sleep in one, and in the other are the troughs of chicha, the bottles of aguardiente, and the laurel candles.

342 The third type of dwelling, very scarce in Calderas, has
249 a square floor plan. It has the sala, two kitchens, and the du yate léchukue. Whatever type of dwelling a Paez family may own, they all have as an indispensable accessory the sugar mill,
[240] either inside the house or outside it. Actually, if it is kept in
[273] mind that the basic sustenance of the natives is provided by
[276] maize, cabbage, chicha, and coca, this instrument is indispensable.

342 In addition, each house is supplied with water, taken from
312 springs, streams, or falls, through the extremely skillful construction of ditches which skirt the valleys, hills, and slopes. Their lands have abundant water. They are not familiar with artesian wells.

342 In a way, the enormous salas in the houses of Calderas
177 represent the ramadas which are found among the whites,
249 mestizos, and acculturated Indians of San Andrés; they are built independently of the dwellings, with a sugar mill and an oven to boil down the cane juice and make panela. In this parcialidad, the panela industry is quite well developed. In Calderas it does not exist.

584 Among the Paez, land, marriage, family, and house form
583 a close and indissoluble unit. It lends warmth and meaning to
[183] a number of emotional, sentimental, and sociological complexes. This begins when the pubescent boy feels the need for a partner who will help him in his work and assuage to some extent the rigors of solitude. The love awakened by a dark, shapely maiden impels him to ask her parents for her. "Give my your daughter. I am alone and need help in my work."

4:Bernal Villa--15 E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

/188 cont./

462 from the plantings; she will laboriously make the multicolored
594 kuetand yahas which she will give as tokens of love to her hus-
[25] band. The children, who "are a blessing of God," will come and help the man work the land or lighten the woman's kitchen chores.

594 The household lends individuality, a sociological frame-
183 work, status, and function to the family. Land, a house, and a family are specific ambitions of the Paez people. Possibly they represent their most cherished ideals in life.

IV

Live Ritual Fire

372 In the mind of every individual, and in the spirit of the family, fire is a symbol, a symbol of the house and of the home. A house without fire is a dead, abandoned house.

372 In ancient times, when the Pijao went about spreading
773 terror and death, when the caciques came down on the /189/ /illustration appears here/ roaring waters of the great rivers beneath the imposing dark night sprinkled with stars, and even much earlier, the Indians began their daily round by requesting fire from an old, white-haired woman. This fire died out when night spread its dark cloak over the world. Only the old woman's fire was immortal. The monotony of this daily request for fire was transmuted into anguish when the wicked old woman decided to leave and take the fire with her in a piece of wood. They all ran after her, seized the firebrand, and obtained fire from it for all the Indian households. This fire could be preserved.

Thus run the mythical accounts of the origin of fire. They reflect its importance. The manner in which it is preserved, the care which is exercised so that a fire is always /190/ burning in the house, seem to be superstitious attitudes from an ancient

/293 cont./

221 on the fincas of the "whites" (1). The social life and the re-
[166]
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[128]

1. Generic term with which the natives designate all those who observe the norms of western culture, without any distinction as to race. For convenience we have adopted this usage, putting the term in quotation marks.

ligious fiestas are frequent during this period. The work is done /294/ with devotion and perseverance. It is not done in haste, but there is no resting either.

423 Every Páez family has its lands. This is its ambition. The
[183] primary source of its security. Every crag has an owner whose title has been won by the sweat of his brow. Every crag harbors a rancho that shelters a family. Every inch of land is passionately
[571] defended by the native. The disputes stirred up by this fact are not few. In like manner the cabildos are never so zealous as in the defense of the lands of the parcialidad /a territorial division/.
[648] The areas of settlement /areas of colonization by whites/ are spearheads in the very heart of the community. They were established against the full opposition of the natives. On the other hand, the defense of the land and the prevention of contamination by foreign peoples are postulates of the doctrine. The distribution of the houses suggests in advance the profusion of paths and private property.

When they win the scarce land, the distances and difficul-
[464] ties that loom are not important. They are good colonizers, and it is rare that persons who lack land hire themselves out as perma-
[181] nent peons or become tenant farmers on the great haciendas. They prefer independence above all.

311 To study the economy of the Páez, certain factors of a
133 geographico-physical and cultural nature cannot be overlooked. They are:

1. Thermic levels. The lands now occupied by the Páez of Tierradentro correspond to the thermic levels of cold and temperate. The contour line corresponding to 2,000 meters

/179 cont./

594 Associated with the nuclear family primordially are the functions of reproduction, the rearing of children, and the education of the latter. On procreation depends also the importance of economic functions.

581 589 [183] [842] [775] The orientation of the sexual instinct is a secondary end. Indeed, Páez culture demands that every individual form a family, once he has acquired the capacity for procreation. In the parcialidad of Caldenas they look upon children as a blessing from God, regarding celibates "como violadores de la cruz" /as violators of the cross/(marriage); celibacy is condemned, in the rationalization that the person who dies celibate goes to the [757] Nevado del Huila, considered by them as hell. The celibacy of a woman is exceptional, and when it occurs they believe that she becomes a witch. They think something similar about some 581 589 widows. One woman of some fifty years of age says that "marriage is fundamental and obligatory, for the grandfathers 775 used to say that to a woman who is not married the devil gives a black dog for a husband in hell" (7). Another woman declared

[825] 7. They regarded white dogs as companions and guides in the future life and fear that "if molested they will come out and bite them at the entrance to the future abode."

that at times she feels sorrow for the death of an unmarried daughter, "because the devil would give her a husband."

581 183 [582] [842] The culture considers it an obligation of parents to marry off their daughters even if they are very young. Furthermore the young men aspire to "build their house, marry, produce children, have animals, coca in abundance, and sugar cane for their chicha" (8). The incentive to marry is to have children,

8. Bernal Villa, S. 1953, op. cit., p. 183.

for which purpose it is necessary to have assurance /180/ that the woman is fecund.

842 /180 cont./
583 the woman is fecund. For this the culture offers the institutional
581 device of "amaño," by which the man lives with the woman for a
183 time before legalizing the marriage. And we are given clear
175 and precise information about this by Licenciado Eugenio del
595 Castillo y Orozco and his brother, Licentiado Isidro del Castillo
583 y Hrozco /sic/, in their respective reports which they gave to the Governor and Captain General mentioned above: "that they followed the evil custom of living in intimate relations for a long time with the woman whom they were to marry, and if after the marriage they had no offspring they would leave her and seek another woman who might be fecund and whom they thought they might marry if they were not married to their own wives (as Manuel Bolza, an Indian of this village (9), wished

9. Tálaga.

to do), and as was done by Antonio Cofongo (an Indian of San Antonio de las Chinas), from whom he learned not to break up the legitimate religious marriage, which could be prohibited, and who suggested that they get out of the difficulty by any false means, even to arranging for others, from the lowest Indian to the highest, to testify to a lying statement, and if anyone dissented from it and would not follow the wish of the Cacique or Moján, fear caused the dissenters to escape to other parts; some fled with their concubines when they were not acceptable to her parents or relatives, others to avoid work, and others from necessity" (10) ..."and that they flee from all their vices and

10. Archivo Nacional de Bogotá, op. cit., Folio 228.

sins, which are: witchcraft, drunkenness, and concubinage" (11).

11. Archivo Nacional de Bogotá, op. cit., Folio 230.